



THE VOTE.

The Socialist Presidential Ticket Received 36,563.

IN '92—21,157.

The Late Election and the Result are but an incident of a struggle whose final outcome is the triumph of Socialism—The Increasing Poverty that will be Found to Keep Step with the Poverty that Clevelandism Superintended—Ripened Experience will Ripen Socialists and Veterans for Emancipation.

California	1,611
Colorado	160
Connecticut	1,223
Illinois	1,147
Indiana	325
Iowa	452
Maine	11
Maryland	669
Massachusetts	2,114
Michigan	325
Minnesota	948
Missouri	619
Nebraska	186
New Hampshire	228
New Jersey	3,985
New York	17,781
Ohio	1,165
Pennsylvania	1,684
Rhode Island	558
Virginia	115
Wisconsin	1,314
Total	36,563

The below letter from Comrade Chapel, of Michigan, serves as an appropriate commentary to the above figures:

After The Battle.

While the direct results of the recent election does not fully satisfy the hopes and expectations of the sanguine supporters of socialism, general conditions, as they have developed, and are unfolding, present to the observant disciple of Marx, abundant evidence that economic science will rapidly become popular in the immediate future, and with it Socialism must make rapid strides.

That the capitalist class of the goldite variety were badly frightened is proven by the \$17,000,000 campaign corruption fund, unlimited false promises, and unparalleled intimidation which was used to "save the country" for plutocracy—and no doubt, they will hereafter endeavor to checkmate the growth of "un-American and un-patriotic" ideas in the minds of the people, by a continuation of the "campaign of education" with object lessons. As one of the object lessons which proves that "Prosperity" was (not) elected along with McKinley, and inaugurated as soon as the result of the election became known, the Detroit "Tribune" in its issue of December 10th, stated that "25,000 people are out of employment in Detroit, and many of these with their families are in actual distress." These 25,000 unemployed workers, with their families, will probably aggregate from 75,000 to 100,000 people in a city of about 250,000 inhabitants, or from 30 to 40 per cent. of the total population. Were these 25,000 workers steadily employed, at an average daily wage of \$1 each, they would get, and "improvidently" spend, in the aggregate, for the necessities of life, the sum of \$25,000 per day, or \$7,500,000 per year. While it is impossible to trace out all of the misery and disaster which must flow from this cutting off of \$25,000 per day from the trade of a city like Detroit, it is easy to see that none but a purely capitalist business, with ample means, can long survive these conditions, while the middle class manufacturer, merchant and farmer, must become bankrupt for the want of a profitable market.

Under these circumstances the middle class, economically and otherwise, are in that confusing transition state between prosperity and poverty, which is productive of nearly all the political crankiness of which the free silver craze has been the storm centre.

Educated as they have been, to be worshippers of mammon, they are being pushed backward and downward, from a position of comfort and partial luxury to still further swell the ranks of the unemployed, and thus add to the complications of this "natural law" system of economics. In the midst of this confusing situation it is natural that the first prayer for salvation of the middle class should be that \$ god whom they have been taught to adore, but like all other idols, he is deaf and hearth them not, and they are inevitably doomed. When they are finally reduced to poverty they will have time to study economic science from the bed rock up.

The 25,000 idle workers cannot be employed, because the workers who are employed, with modern means and machinery, can keep the markets overflowing with commodities, and the overflowing markets cannot be relieved of their surplus because the unemployed, of whom these 25,000 workers are a sample, are not earning anything with which the markets should be relieved, so this "dysentery of commodities and constipation of trade" must continue and grow more acute indefinitely.

As the means of production become more improved, other batches of workers will be displaced and have an opportunity to taste the bitterness of "sweet charity" in the form of moral advice and resolutions of condolence.

The conditions prevailing in Detroit virtually represent the conditions which prevail in every city and community throughout the land, and neither tariff, free trade, free silver, McKinley's hocus pocus "confidence" game, pure and simple trade unionism, or other reactionary palliatives, can in the least retard the improvement of the means of production, the displacement and pauperizing of wage workers through this improvement, the plethora of markets, the ruin of the middle class, the concentration of wealth into the hands of the plutocracy, and through all of these causes the final destruction of capitalism.

Under the co-operative commonwealth of socialism, all of the now idle workers would have a partnership interest in all of the means of production, transportation and distribution, and would be able to enjoy all the luxuries and refinements of life, without begging for the poor privileges of wage slavery, or feeling any of the torturing pangs of poverty.

Although in the excitement of the time, many half-baked Socialists were stampeded to the other parties in the late election, existing conditions logically indicate that the economic forces have not been suspended in their operation, and are rapidly bringing on that situation in which socialism will afford the only possible relief.

The election was only an incident, which did not in any way change the meaning or interpretation of unmistakable truth. Large numbers of the people already see that capitalism means ruin, whatever the name of the president, or whichever one of the capitalist parties are in power. With the failure of the incoming administration to restore prosperity—as it must fail—the people will be in condition to receive and assimilate the humane and scientific teachings of socialism, and the future is inevitably ours.

L. H. CHAPPEL,
Plymouth, Mich.

A WORD

From Wagon and Carriagemakers' Union No. 4.

When, at the convention of the International Wagon and Carriage Makers, held August 10th, 1896, in Cincinnati, Unions 3 and 4 moved that the international body be placed upon a more progressive basis, and that the class struggle be more closely watched, the proposal was rejected. The delegates of Unions 3 and 4 pointed out that the conservative attitude of the International Union was equal to moving backward; they insisted that the organization should under no circumstances go back instead of going forward if it meant to be true to its mission; only the modern organizations of labor could promote the well being of its workers; and that for that reason the body should be a member of the international movement of labor. But all this was in vain. The belief prevailed that the Socialist plan, herein involved, of doing away with fakirism, could be squelched by the adoption of some dictatorial resolution. Such a decision was reached, and it was believed the voice of freedom was thus smothered. But despite the successful putting through of such a resolution, it missed its object. The class-conscious wagon makers of Chicago were not intimidated. The knowledge that it is an act of folly to allow the political power of labor to lie fallow was with them more powerful than the reactionary resolution.

With head erect Union No. 4 stands up before the International body. Uninfluenced by the failure of the convention to do as it should, but on the contrary, spurred all the more in the cause of emancipating the proletariat, the union has now become the pioneer of the class struggle in the international body. No. 4 has ever shown with deed that it is not a phrase-mongering concern. Likewise now. Its joining the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance has once more demonstrated that it always carries out what it undertakes.

Now, then, ye wagonmakers outside of Chicago, be up and doing! Dethrone the fakirs, and at our next convention we may truly discuss the question of building up our organization and improving our condition. Only a clear knowledge of the aims of labor and complete class-consciousness on the part of the workers can successfully grapple with these questions. Throw overboard the secretaries of the McKinley clubs as well as the Democratic job seekers such as we saw them at our last convention, and follow the example of No. 4 (No. 3 will also consider the matter of joining the S. T. & L. A.) Raise high the banner of solidarity. The higher you raise the banner of Socialism, all the livelier will it wave and contribute toward the determination and enthusiasm of the masses. The higher you raise the symbol of popular emancipation and of peace and good will, all the broader will be the horizon which it sweeps and more numerous will be the masses whom it will inspire with courage. Wagonmakers of America, unite.

With Socialist greeting,
PETER DAMM,
Member of Union No. 4.

It appears incidentally from the report of Deputy State Factory Inspector Hintz, of Michigan, that the recent hard times have done more to enforce the law against child labor than anything else. The hard times have so lowered wages that able-bodied men can be had for wages ordinarily paid to boys. Thus only one evil drives out another under the capitalist system, and increased misery is the real enforcer of "labor laws."

THE IRISH SOCIALISTS.

"The Great Appear Great to us Only Because we are on our Knees, Let us Rise."

The Membership Card of the Irish Socialist Republican Party—Outward Color, Emerald Green—A Significant Motto—Condensed Declaration of Principles, that Demand Absolute Industrial and National Freedom—The Whole Constitutes a Graphic Portraiture of the Ignorance Cultivated by our Social System of Rubbish for a Living, Scruppy and Fimsy Journalism and Defective Schooling.

The membership card of the Irish Socialist Labor party, the launching of which we referred to a few weeks ago, is a thing of beauty. Its color is a deep emerald green. On its first or front page it bears simply the inscription:

IRISH
SOCIALIST REPUBLICAN PARTY,
FOUNDED MAY, 1896.

On its fourth, or last, page, it prints the deep motto:

"The great appear great to us only because we are on our knees."
"LET US RISE."

The second inside, or third, page, is divided up in squares for dues stamps, and the first inside, or second, page makes this announcement:

"The Irish Socialist Republican party holds—

"That the agricultural and industrial system of a free people, like their political system, ought to be an accurate reflex of the democratic principle, by the people, for the people, solely in the interests of the people.

"That the private ownership, by a class, of the land and instruments of production, distribution and exchange, is opposed to this vital principle of justice, and is the fundamental basis of all oppression, national, political, or social.

"That the subjection of one nation to another, as of Ireland to the authority of the British Crown, is a barrier to the free political and economic development of the subjected nation, and can only serve the interests of the exploiting classes of both nations.

"That therefore the national and economic freedom of the Irish People must be sought in the same direction, viz., the establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic, and the consequent conversion of the means of production, distribution and exchange into the common property of society, to be held and controlled by a democratic state in the interests of the entire community.

"That the conquest by the Social Democracy of political power in Parliament, and on all public bodies in Ireland, is the readiest and most effective means whereby the revolutionary forces may be organized and disciplined to attain that end."

The headquarters of the organization are at 67 Mid Abbey Street, Dublin, Ireland. It is intended to issue a series of pamphlets at a penny each. The first of the series has already appeared.

Every intelligent Irish workman in America should keep himself posted on this movement, and should enthusiastically labor here with the American division of that great international movement, of which the Irish Socialist Republican party is the Irish division. Long have Irish capitalists, in Ireland and America, played upon the Irish love for freedom and pulled the Irish workman by the nose for their private profit, and to the undoing of all the Irish people hold dear. Here in particular, the Irish capitalists, representing identical interests with the English capitalists, have had high carnival on the backs of the Irish workers, whom they have plucked, rackrented, dispossessed and thrown out of work, and finally made voting cattle of. The place of the Irish proletariat or working class here and in Great Britain is alongside of the proletarians of all other nationalities and creeds, under the banner of socialism and at war with the whole capitalist class, whether its members be Irish or German, American or French, Jew or Gentile or Catholic.

We welcome the organization in Ireland of the Socialist Republican party.

Depew, the capitalist idler, has evidently undertaken of late to furnish a living picture illustration of an excellent saying of Comrade Peter E. Burrows.

Depew is going about addressing workmen, and in his addresses speaks of himself and his class as "workmen of affairs"; on one occasion he referred to his "fellow railroad employees."

Did not Burrows strike off Depew and his to perfection when he said:

"Pluto, the capitalist, is a criminal, hard to identify because we have not yet identified ourselves. He is hard to identify and means to be harder. Oh, how he objects to be distinguished from the working class; how he struggles; how he protests; how, like the people we read of in the reception rooms of prisons—those hardened fellows, whose faces the police put on record in the rogues' gallery—he squirms and seeks to put on the mien of a worker to disguise his identity!"

GRAPHIC.

Millions For Powder and Bullets, Pennies for Schools and Books and Enlightenment.

At a Recent Written Examination of Applicants for the Police Force, one of the Questions was, Who was Abraham Lincoln—Below are a Number of the Answers Given, With the Original Punctuation and Spelling—The Whole Constitutes a Graphic Portraiture of the Ignorance Cultivated by our Social System of Rubbish for a Living, Scruppy and Fimsy Journalism and Defective Schooling.

No. 1. "Abrehom Lincoln was president of the United States he was a very smart and endrust man he was very kind to all the people who he had control over he was grately thought of by all the officers that were in office while he was he was a very brave men all thure the war of 1862 he did nearly all he took in his head to do he trust in God a grate deal he was at the head of many battles and fought very bravely in all battles he was in when he died he was regarde by meny officers whom thought gratefully of him his picture is now in meny building and gratefully thought of he don his duty in all he undertook to."

No. 2. "He was shot while at a threath by Decota [De Sota?]. He had been a President for a year and six months."

No. 3. "Abraham Lincoln was elected for the second turn but only served a part of it beng shot and killed by a man named Guilar who was aterwards caught and imprisoned."

No. 4. "He was a good Presented but he was kill and we did not have one so good sence it was to bad to have him kill if he had to live he would be a good Presented he was trying to make a good Country for us when he shos but for the war we would be slaves so the People Regards him for that, so i dont think i no very much about Lincoln for i went to work at nine years of age."

No. 5. "Abraham Lincoln was to be the best of my knowledge the Commander in Chief of the fighting forces of the North during the battle for supremacy between the North and the South in the year eighteen hundred and twelve."

No. 6. "started life on a ferry boat on the Mississippi River, and from there he went to Lincoln Nebraska to run a hat boat and after that he started in the Dry Goods business and in this he went Bankrupt and after that the people thought so much about him that they nominated him for United States Senator."

No. 7. "Was president for one term after the civil war in which he served and gained great distinction."

No. 8. "He did not die immediately after he was assassinated. He lived until April 14 1865 and died at his home in Long Branch It was he who issued the proclamation that freed the negroes and that entitled them to citizen ship He was in power during some of the principal battles of the Civil War He was shot entering a Theatre and his assallant it was said was insane."

No. 9. "He was the President that freed the South and let the Dorkey go freed and he was shot by Garfield this is all that I rember of of pretended Lincom so I will close hoping that I will pass."

No. 10. "We have sertinly had very few like unto Lincoln, as far as I can find out he was a tall lathey man a great rail splitter true to principle true to his Country true to his god."

No. 11. "Was assassinated by Booth of Chicago 1864."

No. 12. "He was a man of good moral caractor have you a copy of His life if so you please lend me for a week or so."

No. 13. "He received his education reading a Bible and a speller."

No. 14. "was borne in Kentuckey St. Alaly age his father moved to the Ohio floating down the Mississippi."

No. 15. "I hereby try to pass a mental examinations for position as patrolman and hoping to hear from your request. I have learn Common-educations and willing to learn more if it is convenient I think I could fill position to your satisfaction."

No. 16. "He was a poor boy assisting his father at work in the year 1863 when the war broke out. Mr. Lincoln was one of the first to the front. he made such rapid progress that he received the honor of generals of the United States Army. Mr. Lincoln had many engagements in war and was bound to be victorious especially at the battle of Gettysburg when he swept all before him."

No. 17. "He has bin shout wile walking down thir strett by a man whom did not like him."

"He was killed and taking to thir house nearby wair he was picked up I due not know mush about him becau I did not have very mush schoohing—My Pipal is very poor and Kood not send me to a hie school"

No. 18. "He was a Farmer by occupation when elected to the Presendancy of United States and it is through him that we know enjoy our united peace and that the war of Rebellion was conquered."

No. 19. "He was attending a performance in Booth's theater in Philadelphia when he was shot in the back of the head and died."

No. 20. "I will state in regards to the Honorable Mr. Lincoln the doiceased he was a brave man and coregoes. He was President elected in the year of 1861 but unfortunately shot by Geteay in the year of 1861 he was a Inteleigent man I think this county would be as bad as Cuba or Ireland Scotland and Wales if he didn't take action."

No. 21. "I have read of his being a great rastler and being a hard man to handle. If he had not been killed he be

minght be living to day to a ripe old age Mr. Lincoln was a very kind man kind in peace but very steurn in war."

No. 22. "his great act of banishing slavery from the negroes is one to be commemerated."

No. 23. "he freed the slavery and was looked opend at that time as the Honorable General Grant was wen he was put in office."

No. 24. "negros were bought and sold by the moneyed Southern people selling them for from five to ten dollars."

No. 25. "But of corse he was not the great man that the People taught he was and in my opinion i think he did not due the People whom elected him as much Justus as he might of done."

No. 26. "He was a man that freed all the negros in the world. I think he will never never be forgot as all the growing up children is telling one another about Abraham Lincoln."

No. 27. "Was farming durning his minr years, a lawyer hire him as errand boy and he prove a valuable young man."

No. 28. "the greatest of Historicals and emancipators."

No. 29. "The South refused to obey his command and elected a Confederate President Thomas Jefferson whom declared war against the Union by ordering his soldiers to seize Fort Sumter and all the forts of the South."

No. 30. "After he was shot Mr. Arthur took his place as President."

No. 31. "Abraham Lincoln was considered one of the best Presidents that the Country had at that time and will always be respected by the south in setting Slaves free."

No. 32. "Ex President Lincoln was a brave man durning the war and done things in the war that other Officers did not dare to do or attempted to do he faught one of the worst battels doing the war that of Baunker Hill"

No. 33. "he was shot by Ballinger (Ballington?) Booth—"

No. 34. "In the year of 1865 he was nomiated in place of Buckhanan who's term of office expired in that year."

No. 35. "In the year 1860 he succeeded as President by Jackson and lived happy the rest of his life."

No. 36. "To thir Police Board, Gentlemen

"I will tell yous aull that I know about Abraham Lincoln that he has bin a Presented of the New York City."

"Has lost his life wile holding phirshing (position?)"

No. 37. "After the war was over and all the people become peacefull once more the republican party got together and nominated General Lincoln for President He was elected by a very large and overwhelming majority afterwards making one of the best honestest and faithfullest Presidents this country ever had."

No. 38. "he was at last assinated out of the effects of which he died."

No. 39. "The person who shot Mr. Lincoln was supposed to be a Southern Confederate name Gateau for this offense he was tried and convicted and sentenced to be be-headed."

No. 40. "The time of Abraham Lincolns death the whole, the whole country was draped in deep mourning in honor of thir heroes death."

No. 41. "Abraham Lincoln was President of the United States and was assiated in 1877 at foards Theatera Boston.

No. 42. "Kind Gentlemen

"In reference to the life of Abraham Lincoln would say that I am not personally acuated with him he was Clurck in a grocery store and could lick any of the village boys."

"He at one time had a very bad friend who at the end killed him."

Hand in hand with the notion about "promoting Socialism" by simple municipal ownership a la "Glasgow Plan," goes the notion that looks to the same end by starting "Socialist Communities." The two are crows of one nest: the nest of imagining that Socialism, i. e., the overthrow of the wages system of slavery and of the class that thrives thereon, can be accomplished by "illustrations" that will "make Socialism palatable."

Municipal socialism according to the "Glasgow Plan" may or may not make palatable the idea of public ownership, but in no way makes socialism itself palatable. On the contrary: the taste of the labor fleecers for the blood of the workers will thereby be all the stronger, while the worker, misled by appearances, will condemn socialism by the substitute monstrosity.

On the other hand, "Socialist Communities" can no more make socialism palatable than the eating of peanuts can make watermelon palatable. Peanuts are not watermelons, "Socialist Communities," so-called, are not Socialism. Socialism does not contemplate living together and suppressing sympathies and antipathies; Socialism is the recognition of the fact that production must be carried on co-operatively and on a thoroughly organized system to the end of being as fruitful as civilized man needs, and that the machinery of production must be the property of the workers to the end that they retain possession of the fruits of their labor. Socialism means joint LABOR, "Socialist Communities" mean joint LIVING. One may get quite a liking for the latter and the palate of his mind remain wholly unacquainted with the former.

Socialism implies the overthrow of the present social system; it implies a revolution. Revolutions, like man, are not insinuated into life "thin side of the edge first," they are born like man, head foremost, and not because one LIKES it, but because one MUST.

FRENCH CHAMBERS

Comrade Jules Guesde's Speech on Profits and Wages.

THE LAW OF FLEECINGS.

A Bill Being Before the French Chamber of Deputies to Regulate the Wages of Women and Children, Comrade Jules Guesde Punctures the Errors of Fact and the Reasoning of his Capitalist Colleagues—The Capitalist's Claims for Capital Pilloried as Tantamount to Giving Life to Inert Matter and Taking it Away from the Human Workers.

JULES GUESDE—"Neither the good nor the bad intentions of the employers, neither their personal qualities, nor yet the intervention of law, can either determine, reduce, or increase that part of production that belongs to labor. That is determined by the iron law of wages slavery under which the workers, stripped of all the implements of production, are compelled to put up with whatever the employer, in his almsgiving benevolence is pleased to give them to the end that they may produce what others want."

"Ah! I remember that Mr. Mun, the 'Christian Socialist,' said in this Chamber: 'Yes, it is true; wages do not correspond with the total productivity of labor; but the trouble with the Socialists is that they imply that the whole product, over and above the wages of the manual workers, goes into the hands of the contractors or capitalists under the title of profits.'

"Never have we said such a thing. Never were the Socialists, or Marxists, or Marx himself afflicted with such blindness as to fail to see that, of the annual product of the manual laborer, one part is absorbed in the renovation of the machinery, another by general expenditures, another by the work of superintendence, and finally another in developing the industry."

Never once have we claimed that everything that is not the wages of the manual worker is really stolen labor or wealth. On the contrary, we affirmed that in the Co-operative Commonwealth, a part of the product cannot be devoted to the direct and personal consumption of the workers, whether these be manual or intellectual labor, but must be devoted to the defraying of general expenses, which, however, would be greatly reduced, and also to the renovation of the machinery and to other matters, all of which, so far from denying, we have always expressly maintained."

"But does it follow from this that, apart from these items, there is no such thing as 'profits,' that portion that Mr. Deschanel claims for capital, that is to say, for past and dead labor? There should be none; such labor has received its ample remuneration. (Applause from the extreme Left.)

"This remuneration consisted in the salaries or wages paid in days gone by. It has been rewarded when it was active, and it is a vain pretension that it should be eternally rewarded. There is in all this a confusion of thought that should be straightened up. The labor of the past, the labor that is represented by those who were able to save up has rights, but it is preposterous to imagine that it has superior rights than present and living labor. It is preposterous to claim for the former the right to dominate the latter and to say to present labor: 'You shall support me for evermore.'

"Now, then, it is just this that Mr. Mun calls the 'legitimate reward of capital.' And the phrase he uses suffices to expose the sophistry that hides behind the words. He spoke about the 'necessity of rewarding the raw material.' According to this, the wool, the cotton, the cotton manufactured in the North, are not THINGS, but veritable PERSONS who stretch out their hands to us and demand remuneration. I call this giving life to dead matter for the purpose of extinguishing it in human beings!" (Protests from the Right.)

HENRY LANIEL—"Mr. Mun meant the price of the raw material."

JULES GUESDE—"I don't know what he meant to say. I insist that his words justify my conclusion. If remuneration is demanded for dead matter you put life into it by denying life to men." ("No," "no" from the Center and Right.)

ADRIAN LANNES DE MONTE BELLO—"We want remuneration for the price of raw material."

JULES GUESDE—"That is to say, remuneration for the steam horse of today, another for the electric volt of tomorrow—this is what it amounts to if you talk legitimately about the remuneration of capital."

Mr. LANIEL—"You are juggling with words."

Mr. DEJEANTE—"And you are juggling with things."

JULES GUESDE—"Mr. Mun and Mr. Deschanel maintained that that portion of the product of labor that constitutes 'profit' is pocketed by the capitalist is trifling. They claimed that the workmen have been made to believe that these profits are a heavy tax on them, but that, in fact, they are trifling. In support of their contention they have cited an official statistical report of Massachusetts, according to which the profits derived by the capitalist barely amount to \$1.50 per workman."

"Now, then, I hold in my hands the figures for the profits drawn in the United States by the capitalist class from 1850—1880. Now you will see the real facts, and you may judge how big are the slices that we are told are only trifling."

(Continued on Page 4.)

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068
In 1890 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157
In 1894 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) 36,563

"When the working poor are paid in return for their labor only as much money as will buy them the necessities of life, their condition is identical with that of the slave, who receives those necessities at first hand; the former we call 'free men' and the latter 'slave,' but the difference is imaginary only." John Adams.

HAPPY NEW YEAR.

Wherever, in the closing days of the year that just rolled away, one has had occasion to be thrown in at public places with the "business element," he must have overheard the devout wish expressed that the New Year may be a happy one. These expressions were accompanied, preceded and followed by opinions upon the "prospects," and in all keys, from the most hopeful down to the least, "better times" were prognosticated.

It is not in this sense that we wish a "Happy New Year" to the class-conscious proletariat and to the intelligent element of the land. The posture of the Socialist towards social conditions is not his posture towards the weather. The weather man must take as it comes; the "social weather" depends upon himself. Even with regard to the atmospheric weather, none but the insane would express a wish for fantastic summer's heat when approaching the winter season. Knowledge upon the laws of the change of the seasons is the basis from which all wishes proceed. Ignorance upon social and economic laws leaves man in the helpless state of him who knows nothing of atmospheric laws. Such is the state of mind of the "business element" in general and of that portion of the proletariat whose mind it dominates. Like frogs in a pool they croak their wishes for a happy new year, and expect its blessings to come down from above.

The year that now stretches its full length before our people is heavy-laden with suffering. No amount of wishing can solve the problem of putting in the hands of wage earners, who are paid wages obedient to the law of supply and demand, sufficient money with which to buy all they need, and thus make business brisk; the supply of labor is far in excess of the demand, owing to labor displacing machinery and to the stoppage in the production of new plants upon the large scale hitherto carried on. Neither can any amount of wishing "restore confidence" in a business community where gigantic aggregations of wealth can make certain only an increased mortality among middle class competing concerns. The juggernaut of Capital will in 1897 crush down increased numbers of hearts, if not of lives.

And yet, by and to the intelligent, the wish, A Happy New Year! has sense enough to thrill the heart with joy. Out of the nettle Danger the flower Safety ever can be plucked. The object lessons in store during 1897 will be such as to impart about social conditions a knowledge that must aid in snapping the bonds of ignorance. Whatever brings enlightenment, though bitter for the moment, brings in its outstretched hand the cure.

The year 1897 can, amidst all the gloom in which it is born and will die, yet be a happy one—the year in which the evidence, striking and palpable, will be furnished that, emancipated from bourgeois superstitions, the MASSES have actually begun to move in the direction of Freedom, by falling here in line with the International Socialist Movement.

THE DAILY PEOPLE.

Two are the tactics open to Oppression: either to resist enlightenment or to control it. Time was when Oppression looked upon the press as a foe whom to fight it devoted its full energy; but popular literacy and other causes combined to promote printing to such an extent that the press could not be downed; the tactics of Oppression then changed: it sought and succeeded in gaining control of its foe, and thus to turn it into a weapon for its own arsenal. No intelligent observer can deny that the press, originally intended as a vehicle of enlightenment, has become a vehicle to perpetuate and nurse ignorance; originally intended as a weapon of freedom, has become one for the enslavement of man by enslaving his intellect. Our public daily press to-day is what Roscoe Conkling already some time ago called it—an ulcer on the face

of the earth. It clothes itself with the garb of a public functionary; in fact, however, it is devoted to the filthiest of private interests at the cost of the people. The capitalists, who hold its stocks and those who advertise in it, control its utterances. According to the shade of these, so does the respective paper howl. By an inevitable chain of cause and effect, the daily capitalist press is both blackmailer and black-mailed, strumpet and strumpeter. In such polluted hands, the press has ceased to be a reliable source of information, it has become a hotbed of putrefaction that instills its venom into the people through daily, and sometimes bi-daily injections.

In view of this, the organized class-conscious proletariat of America has long been making strenuous efforts to set up its own sacred press-pulpit from which both to preach the truth and announce the truth. It was this effort that gave birth to the attempt of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. The attempt was eminently successful. Now a second step forward is about to be undertaken—the launching of a daily paper in the English language that shall neither ask nor give quarter, and that every day shall give the news that is valuable—unadulterated by the capitalist falsifications that now adulterate, unmitigated by the ruffian capitalist hands that now hack it up, and that, instead of caricaturing science and debauching the political mind of the public, will utter in clear sounds the notes of the gospel of a better social order.

As the hustings are the battlefield of civilized man, and the ballot his weapon, so is the press his battery. To raise such is the undertaking of the Socialist Labor party. In our last issue the call was issued. Beginning with this issue we shall from week to week publish the response on the fourth page. The darker and thicker the clouds with which capitalism darkens the light of happiness from man, the more urgent is a daily paper through whose columns the proletariat may keep up an unflagging cannonade.

Let the year 1897 be the year of the birth of our daily.

THE LATEST.

A "Milking Machine" is the latest conquest of genius; the latest step taken towards reducing toil and thereby rendering civilization still more possible; but also the latest step that, while the capitalist system lasts, is equal to the giving of an additional turn to the screw that crushes out the small producer, and increases the army of the unemployed, and thereby deepens both misery and slavery.

By the "hand process," the milking of four cows an hour was good work; with the machine one "operator" can milk 35 cows in an hour. By the hand process, the milking of cows implied late hours, and small dairies were possible. The machine, by making easy the milking of a hundred cows within a few hours by not more than three operators, reduces the cost of production, gives an impetus to large dairies, renders competition impossible to smaller ones, and revolutionizes the trade.

Agriculture in America has felt the iron hand of Capitalism as it has been felt nowhere else. A new department is now invaded. The small corn raisers will now have the company of the small milk raisers. The two will henceforth compare notes. Possibly they will be drawn into fool movements to escape destruction; possibly they will curse the machine; but it is more likely that better counsel will prevail: That they will understand that the machine is full with promise of happiness because it lessens toil; that its evils are not inseparable from it but are only the result of its private ownership; and that its collective ownership, managed in a Socialist Commonwealth, is the only solution of the problem of to-day, to wit, how to escape poverty while the productivity of labor becomes ever richer.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The Yonkers, N. Y., "Statesman" considers that "the policy of encouraging wage-earners to depend upon the city for employment is open to grave objections," among which two are surely the leading ones:

1st. It would deprive the private capitalist from the most important weapon—the unemployed—to lower wages with; 2d. It will nurse the inclination of the present wage-earners, or wage-slaves, to become their own masters, by getting their jobs from themselves, i. e., the governments which they themselves elect.

No doubt these are good objections—for the plunderers of labor.

We congratulate our comrades in Italy upon their successful launching of a daily paper of the party. The great vigor already attained by the Socialist movement in Italy, where already 19 Socialist delegates are seated in the Italian Parliament, has ripened there the birth of a daily Socialist paper sooner than here. "Avanti," the name of the new Italian daily, will be published in Rome, Via delle Muratte, Palazzo Sciarra. We confidently trust that the birth of a DAILY PEOPLE in this country will soon follow that of our colleague in Italy—the "Avanti."

Light is breaking everywhere. The "Metal Polishers' Journal" contains this

intelligent commentary on the condition of its trade:

"The experience we are undergoing during the present business depression should at least teach us a valuable lesson. We should realize that our trade is fast becoming overcrowded, and that we are being brought more and more into competition with that vast army of the unemployed, who forced from their own trade by the introduction of labor-saving machinery, are forced to seek employment in that trade which offers to them the opportunity to earn a living. We must also realize that the tendency to run the factories night and day during the short season of activity in the bicycle industry, has a tendency to create during those periods a false demand for skilled labor in this particular industry, thus attracting to our ranks a great many of the unemployed who, misunderstanding the conditions which govern our craft and who believe (owing to the false impression thus created) that they have at last secured permanent employment, but are destined to be again bitterly disappointed and in a short time again forced into the ranks of the unemployed."

The Leadville, Col., "Miner," official organ of the Western Federation of Miners of America, publishes in its issue of last December 5th, the platform of the Socialist Labor party in full, with the following introduction:

"Thousands of readers have a very vague idea of socialism. They are prone to accept the newspaper definition, which is commonly that socialism is a mixture of lawlessness and idiosyncrasy. It is the general reader permitted to hear the Socialist himself speak. It is the part, therefore, of the enterprising newspaper to give its readers reliable information on this subject. We reproduce below the platform and resolutions adopted by the Socialist Labor party of the United States."

How true the maxim is that the surest way for a capitalist not to hit his friends is for him not to attack his enemies, is beautifully illustrated by the New York "Evening Post." This rabble, yet pharisaic, upholder of capitalist piracy has been a loyal supporter of Jay Gould and Gouldism in general. He and that was decent, honorable and proper; the demands of the plundered workingmen were, as a matter of course, denounced as "indecent," "dishonorable," "improper." Forgetful of the maxim aforesaid, the "Evening Post" now sails into the politician "Lou Payn"—and thereby itself unmasks the "decency," "honor" and "propriety" of its patron saint, Gould. It revives the story of a N. Y. Senate investigation where it was shown that this Lou Payn in 1868 succeeded in getting \$10,000 from Jay Gould on the "pretence that he would be able to purchase a Senator's vote with it." In other words, the "Evening Post" itself publishes the fact that the "honor," "decency" and "propriety" which it is ever ready to defend, is of the nature that belongs in Sing Sing, draped in elegant suits of stripes and barbered in closely cut hair, and shaven whiskers for the crime of bribery. The capitalist class is a class of criminals; none can be denounced by any other without he convicts himself.

As was to be expected, the Philadelphia "Tageblatt" is to such an extent dragging its anchor away from the uncomfortable waters of revolution, and has drifted so far into the more comfortable water of bourgeoisism, that it is full of applause for the "Glasgow Plan" of municipalization, shown in our last issue to be a capitalist and bourgeois snare and delusion, inasmuch as by the "Glasgow Plan" the street railroads, etc., are operated by the capitalist class in power just the same as a private concern, the workers having nothing to say except submitting to low wages and standing in mortal fear of scabs in case of a strike. But what was not quite to be expected is that the "Tageblatt" should have drifted so much further as not to be posted even upon contemporary official utterances and decisions of the party. In a long article in opposition to the warning published by THE PEOPLE in its last week's issue on the matter, the "Tageblatt" of last Monday says:

"The position of hostility to the 'Glasgow Plan' robs the Socialists, should they approve it, of the best issue for municipal campaigns, and all for the simple sake of a hoary-headed doctrinarianism. But they are not likely to take the warning to heart. THEIR PLATFORM DEMANDS PLUMP AND FLAIN THE TRANSFER OF ALL SUCH FUNCTIONS TO THE MUNICIPALITIES, WITHOUT ANY RESERVATION, and not at some distant day either, but now, just so soon as the plan can be put through. And the platform is good."

Now, the fact is that the platform of the party, pronounced good by the "Tageblatt" itself, adopted at the last National Convention, July 6th, 1896, and approved by an overwhelming referendum vote of the party, in fact, virtually unanimously, there being only 11 votes against, pronounces itself distinctly against "Glasgow Plans," or municipalization "without any reservation."

Clause 3 of the Resolutions provides as follows:

"3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; THE EMPLOYEES TO OPERATE THE SAME CO-OPERATIVELY under control of the municipal administration AND TO ELECT THEIR OWN SUPERIOR OFFICERS, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons."

No doubt the Socialist platform is good—good enough to be read and followed closely; too good to be misquoted by those who are running away from it and from its revolutionary posture.

THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

A Member Thereof Rises for Information.

The American Federation of Labor has concluded its labors at Cincinnati. This is the sixteenth time that that body has labored. The press reports of the proceedings are somewhat meagre, but that makes little difference, as the Federation always labors in the same way, with the same result. Next year they will meet again, and go through the same set of motions, make the same old speeches about the rights and wrongs of labor, debate the same issues that they debated ten years ago and this year, pass the same resolutions once again, and indulge in the same rosy predictions as to the future of organized labor that they voiced a decade ago. The American Federation of Labor is a great institution.

Isn't it about time for someone to rise to a question of information? A few questions suggest themselves that the Federation officials might take time to reply to. Membership in the Federation costs money, and their conventions cost a great deal of money. This money comes out of the pockets of men and women who need every cent they earn, and who ought to know that every cent they pay out, no matter what for, is well spent.

Now, what has the American Federation accomplished for its membership in the last sixteen years? What has it returned to the cigarmakers, carpenters and printers, who make up the bulk of its membership, for all the money they have paid into its treasury?

Every year for the past sixteen years a hundred and more men have journeyed to some designated point, to legislate in the interest of the American working class. Once assembled, they listen to an "address of welcome," usually delivered by some capitalist politician, who tells them what a fine body of men they are, and how proud they ought to be, and how the eyes of the nation are watching them, and how he (the speaker) used to be a workman himself, and how happy he was in those days, and how welcome the Federation is to the city and its "freedom," etc., etc., etc.

And then Sam Gompers or some one else rises to "respond." The welcomer is told what a sweet-scented geranium he is, and how happy everybody would be if all those in politics similar to his entertained the same level-headed ideas about the laborer that he does, and how much the organization of labor has accomplished in the past, and how much more it will accomplish if the people will only do as the Federation says, and what a great and enterprising town the place is in which they happen to be, etc., etc., etc.

And then a raft of committees is appointed and the convention begins its labors. A week or ten days is devoted to using up the atmosphere of the vicinity. Talk, talk, talk, punctuated by "points of order," "questions of privilege," and what not till the cows come home. The same speeches that were delivered twenty years ago are again thundered out; the same old pleas for unionism, "pure and simple," are made, the same arguments for "the label" that were used ten years before are burned up and made to do duty once again, and the same old lies about the wonderful strides that organized labor had made in the preceding year are repeated. Finally, when everybody has talked everybody else into a trance, the same old fakirs are re-elected to office and the convention adjourns.

Now, I repeat, what have the carpenters, cigarmakers and printers (or any other organization) to show for all the money they have spent on the Federation? They have absolutely nothing to show. Whatever the carpenters have as a result of organization is traceable to their own trade organization, and not to anything the Federation has done for them. And the condition of the carpenters is worse to-day than it ever was before. The reports of the condition of the trade published in "The Carpenter," the Brotherhood's official organ, show that stagnation exists from one end of the country to the other. Every town sends warning, "Stay away from here; town overrun with idle workmen."

What is true of the carpenters is true of the cigarmakers. Fully one-third of the membership of the Cigarmakers' Union are out of employment. The blue label, on which hundreds of thousands of dollars has been spent, has not saved them. On the contrary, it is proving a boomerang. A demand for blue label goods once created, the cigar manufacturer in the country districts "organizes" his erstwhile scab shop, secures the label, and proceeds to meet the demand with goods made for less than one-half what had formerly been paid in the larger cities for the same grade of cigars. Blue label cigars are made in Pennsylvania interior districts for \$6 per thousand that cost \$16 to make in the city of Boston. Then comes the fight for the market, with the inevitable reductions that the cigarmaker must accept or quit. No, the cigarmakers have not as yet succeeded in making water run up hill by label agitation. Until they do so I refuse to believe that any amount of label recognition will keep wages from a constant tendency downward. Another thing I should like to have explained. Before a man can purchase any kind of cigar, blue label or scab, he must have money in his pocket. The way in which a "recognition" of the blue label will put money into the empty pockets of would-be smokers needs demonstration.

The cigarmakers should take an account of stock, and see what they have as a result of membership in the Federation.

(Continued on Page 4.)



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—I had just been thinking that I had caught the hang of Socialism at last, when yesterday the thread seemed to slip out of my head again, and now I find myself all out at sea once more.

Uncle Sam—What happened to you yesterday?

B. J.—I heard a Socialist deliver an address.

U. S.—And that did it?

B. J.—Yes, I had come to believe that this Capitalist system was a curse.

U. S.—So it is.

B. J.—And that, being a curse, Socialism proposes to wipe it out.

U. S.—Correct again.

B. J.—But that Socialist speaker yesterday—

U. S.—Did he propose to keep up this Capitalist system?

B. J.—No; that's just the rub. He wanted to wipe it out notwithstanding that from his talk it appeared that he thought Capitalism had done and was doing a great work.

U. S.—So it has and is.

B. J.—(Clean out of patience.)—And you would wipe out a thing that's doing good?

U. S.—Keep your shirt on, Fatty. Do you know what Capitalism means?

B. J.—(testily.)—What does it mean?

U. S.—Capitalism is a social system under which a larger and ever larger number of people are rendered miserable, and fewer and fewer people are gorged with wealth.

B. J.—That's a curse of a system; wipe it out!

U. S.—Keep cool. Under Capitalism, the man who has a good machine to work with makes it impossible for him who has not got such a good one to compete with him; he can produce so much more cheaply and plentifully that the other fellow is undersold and thrown into bankruptcy.

B. J.—That's so. Wipe it out, I say.

U. S.—Just wait. The machinery of production becomes ever more perfect; that is to say, it produces ever more plentifully and cheaply, consequently, the machine that yesterday could knock out a weaker machine is itself knocked out to-day by a stronger one—

B. J.—Exactly. Such a system should be done away with.

U. S.—Its owner is in turn driven into poverty. And so right along. The more perfect machine or Capital keeps knocking out the less perfect one, and pauperizing more and more people.

B. J.—I know all that.

U. S.—Just keep cool, and let us go step by step. If the man with some machinery of production can't stand up against the man with better machinery, what chance has the man who has no machinery whatever, no capital?

B. J.—Why, none whatever. That's why I say this Capitalist system is an unmitigated curse, that we can't wipe out any too soon.

U. S.—The men without any capital, machinery, are bound to sell themselves in wage slavery; that is to say, for the sake of a living, which they can't get unless the capitalist allows them access to the machine, they will allow the capitalist to keep as much of their product as the capitalist needs to live in luxurious idleness, while they themselves are forced to drudge in poverty.

B. J.—Yes, yes, I know all that.

U. S.—And the more perfect the machinery of production becomes, it follows that more small capitalists will be pauperized. They will thus be thrown into the ranks of the proletariat, the proletariat, the working class—

B. J.—(Impatiently.)—Yes.

U. S.—And the more workingmen there are, the lower will be their wages, the less powerful will they be to resist Capitalist domination, the more miserable will they be—

B. J.—Now, what is the use of this long rigmarole. I know all that.

U. S.—Capitalism, consequently, increases the quantity of wealth, and it also increases the quantity of wealth that could be produced, and yet it increases the number of people who starve and deepens their misery. It makes human happiness possible, and yet increases human misery.

B. J.—(losing all patience.)—Will you kindly explain to me why you go through this long harrowing tale? I am well aware of all that, and that's why I am puzzled to hear you deny that capitalism is an unmitigated curse.

U. S.—I am just going to take that up. None of the several social systems that preceded capitalism did what capitalism does. Their institutions were such that poverty, and its inevitable result, slavery, were made bearable because these were not aggravated. Capitalism, on the contrary, MAKES POVERTY AND ITS INEVITABLE RESULT, SLAVERY, UNBEARABLE, because it aggravates them. Do you now see the merit of capitalism?

B. J.—(with a far-off look.)—Well, hem, can't say I do, quite.

U. S.—Human nature is inclined to put up with sufferings. It needs a tremendous impulse to move the human race to rebel against wrong. Capitalism gives that impulse. So long as poverty, or slavery, or bearable, there is no hope for its abolition. People will put up with it rather than make the effort to free themselves. But Capitalism does not allow the people to accommodate themselves to a condition of slavery. No sooner have those small property holders, whom it keeps in hot water, begun to accommodate themselves to their hard lot, when it wakes them up with a kick by some further concentration or improvement of the machinery of production that makes their lot harder, their existence more precarious.

B. J.—That's true, by Jericho!

U. S.—No sooner have these begun to re-accommodate themselves to their worse conditions and to hulk themselves

in the hope that "something will turn up" in their behalf, when a fresh kick, given by some further concentration and improvement of capital, reawakens them and tumbles them into the class of the wage earners.

B. J.—I agree; that's so.

U. S.—Then, as to the wage earners themselves, they try with might and main to keep up the system that holds them in slavery by setting up all sorts of barriers against capitalist encroachment. Imagining that they can protect themselves against Capitalism, they lie down confident. But up comes Mr. Capital, and with a mighty kick breaks down their barrier and shakes their confidence.

B. J.—Guess I begin to see.

U. S.—Presently their confidence returns in their worse condition, but again turns Mr. Capital, and by some further improvement in his machinery of production gives them another kick by throwing more people into the labor market, more of these into the army of the unemployed, and thereby all into deeper misery. This process is kept up by the law that underlies Capitalism. As fast as the slaves begin to accommodate and accommodate themselves to their deeper slavery, they get a rude kick that re-awakens them, and that by driving them down deeper and deeper depths of slavery and misery brings home to them the necessity of freedom from Capitalist tyranny. Thus it is that, were it not for Capitalism, slavery would be eternal. But Capitalism prevents mankind from falling into a stupor of slavery. By kicking it down further and further, it forces mankind to the point where it MUST choose between FREEDOM and DEATH. Capitalism will not tolerate slavery. If man won't be FREE, he takes possession of the freedom-imparting machinery of production, Capitalism compels him to DIE. Therein lies its merit. Hence Socialists bow before it with reverence.

B. J.—Well, well, I never would have thought it. It is just so!

U. S.—Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. Benign social systems would, if perpetuated, have left slavery a permanent social condition. On the other hand, Capitalism, this hyena from hell, redolent with the stench of corruption, smeared from head to foot with crime, shocking in its vulgarity, cruel in its every breath—this monster is the HANDMAID OF FREEDOM.

WHOSE THE GAIN?

Pale workmen plying at the loom of life.

Intent and earnest, heeding not the sun,

Neglecting nature's gifts amid their strife,

And losing by the victories they have won;

They stay their hands, their task being nearly done,

Survey their warp and woof with blood-shot eyes,

And reckon profit, while the hour sands run.

And, swiftly silent, shape their destinies.

Such are our brothers, doomed beneath these skies,

To bargain blindly on the price of death;

To tread the loom and weave in purple dyes,

The robes whose rustle echoes passing breath.

They live and work and die in squalid pain,

In this fair land, these brothers; whose the gain?

WILLIAM STONE BOOTH.

New York.

[The above poem was courteously sent by the talented writer to THE PEOPLE.

Were THE PEOPLE a purely literary publication, the poem's unquestioned metrical beauty and touching elegiac flavor would forthwith have secured it space in our limited columns. But THE PEOPLE is devoted exclusively to enlightening the toiling masses upon the cause of their misery, to pointing out to them the path to emancipation, and to quickening in them both the spark of freedom and the sense of duty and to redeem the race from the thrall of Capitalism. Hence, for a while, we questioned the propriety of publishing (even at the risk of depriving our readers of the acquaintance with this gem of prosody) a poem that seems to ignore the fact that the "gain" is the Capitalist's, and that also seems to imply that workmen neglect by choice, not by capitalist compulsion, the enjoyment of nature's gifts, and by choice "bargain blindly in the price of death." In deciding to give publication to the poem, we were, however, controlled by the consideration that, besides striking a chord of sympathy in our readers, its pathos may help to illustrate the deep meaning of the historic incident of Marie Antoinette, upon its being reported to her that the people of France were dying for want of bread, asking, with tears in her eyes, the celebrated question, "Why do they not eat cake?"—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquiries.

K. N. Y.—Send name in full, address and date or dates on which you promise to pay the \$10 toward the \$50,000 DAILY PEOPLE Fund. Without these details the name and pledge can't go on the list and can't be considered, because the list is to be published from week to week to convey information of amount pledged, amount collected, and when further amounts are due. Any one wishing to keep his name from publication will have his wishes respected, but his name must be known to the Committee, unless his contribution is in cash.

R. L. N. Y.—It was published in the issue of November 8th, 1896.

E. J. N. Y.—The editorial mind works in ways and by rules of its own. This is proverbial. If you can't accommodate yourself to that come and take your contributions back. "Reminders" are superfluous.

TO CORRESPONDENTS SENDING THE PLEDGE FOR THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND.—Always state as exactly as possible the time or times of payment, and also give your addresses. This will save much trouble later on, and clerical work.

HAS A MAN A RIGHT TO DO AS HE LIKES WITH HIS OWN?

[A Paper in the Negative Presented to a Rich Church Debating Society.]

By PETER E. BURROWS.

It is a mere confusion of terms to speak of rights other than those conceded by society. And such rights are always fluctuating. The legislative chambers, the courts of appeal, the power of pardon, etc., are all in action to make new rights; to repeal old rights, and to modify or to correct existing rights.

It is the state alone which gives you property. You can have property only by the protection and opportunities afforded you by the state. That which by creating opportunities for you gave you property should not permit any man to do as he likes with those donations. It happens, however, that the individual seldom quarrels with the State on this subject, because his very mind is not his own, his opinions, his tastes, his wishes, have been socially regulated. Over whatever sphere of things or relations we may imagine ourselves as having rights, a very cursory glance will convince us that they are gifts of the State.

A man can have, therefore, no potential right against society or its representative, the State. His liberty and even his life are only theoretical rights as they are taken away constantly by the State without reasons satisfactory to him. When we say, "Has a man a right," etc., we therefore do not mean "as against the State." Neither do we mean "as of ourselves." But we do mean to inquire, by reference to a higher than dollar law, whether in relation to another individual, or in relation to society as a natural organism, (not the present State), we may do as we like in those things where we are not already restricted by the State.

It is into this realm, gentlemen, that church conscience should enter, and this is where she should take the scepter. It is here that her power should be found constantly revising, improving and elevating the laws of every State. And it is by the free and frank discussion of these things that the conscience of a State learns to denounce and finally overthrows corrupt rings in municipal governments. By it, the oppression and folly of a State by property, through property and for property becomes apparent; and the necessity of a State for equal help to all is realized.

An age upon this earth is then introduced when this truth shall be abundantly recognized, "That a man may not do as he likes with his own." IT IS HIS OWN; but because he has desired to do the right thing with it, and "because he claims no ownership that is not reconcilable with absolute justice to all." That age will be socialism.

Now, the time for the establishment of such a social system has been due to the race many ages ago; but the purposes of your God have been frustrated, and the mission of his Christ defeated by kings, slave-owners and financiers. Having built up the control of men, of conditions and of wealth, the church, at an early date, was hypnotized into evil partnership with the propertied class, constituting herself a mere court of records for endorsing the crimes and stealings of a rich laity in return for the privilege granted to herself of DEATH-BED ROBBERY, or of becoming herself part helress to the common plunder. So, the whole problem of Christian ethics is presented to us in the suggestion that a man "can do as he likes with his own." The whole conflict of ages is in that sentence—the war between mankind and money-kind. And Christ, whose name, in my opinion, the church unwarrantably retains, and shamefully dishonors, had no more thought of a theological reformation than I have. One of his foremost messages being, that the possession of great or comparative wealth (no matter how obtained) fixes a great gulf, moral and intellectual, between its owner and the light, sympathies and blessings of that kingdom which he came to establish.

I cannot rationally interpret Jesus from any other view point than that of the labor leader of his own day, the walking delegate of the world's toilers in all ages. He knew, as we all know, that the theology of the world goes with the money of the world.

It is known to students that in pre-Christian times the laborers were said to possess only half a soul, and that they had no existence at all after death. Apparently a very brutal doctrine this was, but it was more merciful than ours; which, in theory, makes them equal to angels, but then turns them into beasts of burden. The appetite of the pronounced property individualist grows with its food, so that its conception of personal ownership is limited only by its power to destroy yours, or mar your ability to retain it, while it fortifies itself behind a few phrases which constitute our small philosophy. "What I own is mine by right of superiority," says the rich man. "It is the reward of my genius, intelligence, enterprise; without which rewards the race unstimulated would stand still."

It is hard, of course, to get a moneyed man to put a price upon himself; hard it is for any man to hold the scales in which he is weighing himself. But it is not hard, in a general way, to see the insolence, egotism and folly of this claim. Casting our eyes about us into the homes of the well to do, looking at the boys and young men whom we know already are to be the evolved fittest of the next generation, we see them beginning life with such ownership and equipment as excludes the bare idea of

merit or reward, and is fatal to the philosophy of vanity, with which the modern business man wraps up his insignificance.

The rich we have always had with us. They were abundant in England's great empire of India, and in Egypt, Greece and Rome, and their heathen historians frankly tell us what manner of brutal men they were. It was reserved, however, for a profit-sipping Christianity to make riches the evidence and measure of merit, or, to be more faithful to the actual sentiment which controls us, we make the lack of property our standard of other men's demerit, and thus justify the calamitous conditions of those whom the operation of property-getting for ourselves makes poor. This is the ruling sentiment of commercial civilization; the key to that amazing labyrinth of inconsistencies—the modern Christian business world.

Unity of interest or community of use crops up whichever way I turn this query to examine it. I find that man as an isolated unit has practically no existence, and that even in the romance of Robinson Crusoe it is more seeming than real, he having brought society with him in his language, his thoughts and his implements. Not outside of false economies is there such a thing as a man standing alone. And none but a man standing alone in his sympathies can seriously inquire for the privilege of doing as he likes with his own. Only the modern employer of labor asks the barbarous question, "Nay, it is a slander on barbarism to so designate it, for savage life at its worst is tribal and always evolving toward the nation. Nor do I know of any species of brutes that are so solitary as the modern property man is after he has got his property. So that it does seem to me as if the New Testament writer who said that money, or the love of it, is the root of all evil, had a momentary light from heaven cast upon modern social conditions. But in fact we have no individual in society distinct enough even to propose this query in its naked selfishness. We have no opinion, no will, no wish, so separate from others, as the query calls for. When a capitalist asks the question, you will find that he only asks it on behalf of his class or his trade; and that if society with authority said "Yes, go and do as you like," he would probably do nothing different the day after obtaining his permit than he had done the day before. He would not arm himself and rush forth to shoot down the strikers, he would only go home and sulk. What he meant by his demand, society had not wholly granted him. Under the guise of a plea for liberty he really wanted society to help him take away the right of others, to prevent them from doing as they like with their own. If the right demanded had been conceded to all his fellows at the same moment, this liberal minded gentleman would find that practically he had been demanding equal opportunities for all, the very thing he thought to antagonize—that while he wanted egotism and nepotism he had really asked for socialism. So true it is that the worst and the best, the most ignorant and the most intelligent self interest invariably leads to that one goal—socialism. So true it is that a competitive system a real equal genuine competition among men (a condition we now know nothing of) would lead to the destruction of all malevolent competition and to the establishment of healthy emulation—the tranquility, science and brotherhood of a socialist industry, and to a true life. Then a man might really ask the question, "May I not do as I like with my own?" and everybody could heartily say "Yes." We conclude, therefore, that there is no one man, no one interest, or will, even, in our society, and that this demand, which alas! we so commonly hear, is a symptom of selfish insanity—an anachronism—and it should not be asked, because it can never be answered until after the social revolution.

The conqueror, the tyrant, the robber, even the lowest sneak thief who creeps into a share of margins is willing, after he has gotten his swag, to cry out that a man may do as he likes with his own. But when another man of his own character, with a terribly big pair of fists comes of a night to his bedroom window, holding a heavy club over his head, saying, "Look at my muscle; cannot a man do as he likes with his own?" The apostle of property answers, "Yes; and I like to give you all the money in this house." Whereupon he awakens the next morning to find that the doctrine which he thoroughly believed in was by no means so sound as it appeared before that fellow came. So, in the mouth of the modern capitalist this is not ethical at all, but merely a question of power. Unhappily, the corrupt society of this age and country replies to the capitalist brute, "You may," and sends him the police and soldiers he demands, to establish his will. But to the laborer, (brute or angel) society now sends an iron key and a jailer, or a militia man and a gun. The man who owns a house in New York desirous of receiving a high rent from Madame Seraphina Celesta, an organizer of brothels, finds that even Tammany Hall objects, and the very police of this city protest (save under envelope conditions laid down by the wardman on behalf of the Captain, on behalf of—the higher up).

On the other hand, let us look at the laborer. The American laborer, after five glasses of beer, begins to feel "American." "To hell with the boss," says he, snapping his fingers and spilling half of the sixth glass. "I can do as I like with my own." But no, you cannot. Even these five glasses of beer cannot alter your conditions. A fact which he discerns in the morning, when he brings his spade to the farm, his skillful hand to the bench, or his back

to the carrying company. No Siree, you may sometimes keep your own, but you cannot very often do as you like with it if you are not a capitalist; and even the capitalist is in the enjoyment of this exceptional privilege for only a very short time longer. The sleuth-hound of public conscience is on his track—the new tomb, which socialism has prepared, is waiting for his immoral ashes.

The answer of the little and the big money bag is, "Oh, but we CAN do, and we DO do." I respond, "If you could at any time, even in this degraded dollar-ridden republic, have done as you liked, if you could do it now, our prisons would not be large enough for our people, nor our people's stomachs small enough for your food. Or, in other words, for the wages you would allow them to buy it with."

Knowing how hostile true religion must ever be to such a monstrosity as modern capitalism, can anyone here tell me why it is that all our Christian preachers are not in prison? Why is it that the bishop of New York (we will say) has not been like his master—taken out by the State and crucified—between two thieves? Some one may answer, "He is crucified; his lips are crucified so that he cannot preach the truth; crucified between a Christian politician and a Christian capitalist on well-upholstered easy chairs in the best apartment of the Union League, sipping moselle, and he likes it." You may try in vain, oh blasphemer of God, to wound the feelings of modern churchmen; you will not succeed, my dear blasphemer, in winning one sprig of a martyr's crown, for we do not believe in anything outside the ledger so much as to be angry with you. Not more than a passing ripple of interest over our morning papers would you create if you embodied in your words all the heresies from Pelagius to Briggs, all the blasphemy from Job's wife down to the time a certain millionaire offered up the Lord's prayer. But if you want to be grilled, try the very smallest tool of heresy against the god capital, even so small a tool as that of Dr. McGlynn, and you will create a flutter from New York to Rome.

The church cannot be saved while she prates about a righteousness of the heart and has no concern for the unrighteousness of the mart. The church cannot be saved so long as she believes that socialism is impracticable! In other words, that right is impracticable! Whereas the very purpose for which she is in the world is to make whatever is a just and right thing an accomplished fact. If she is not here for that she has lost or forgotten her commission. Is it a paradox to say that the church of Christianity is opposed to the socialism of Christianity? No, it is a truth; an amazing, bitter truth.

Since the moral sentiment of the world is hastening the great event of socialism, where will the church stand in the day of our completed evolution. Oh, how she will ask the rocks to hide her shame, if she stands outside of socialism.

Shall man be emancipated from the oppression of heathen capitalism, and shall he be emancipated without (nay, in spite of) the Christian church? Is there yet a hope that she will join us, the Socialist Labor party of the world? Can she throw the carcass of capitalism putrid burden that it is, a carcass bearing her down to the dark depths of infamy? Can she cast it from her? Can she, as an organization, rise to this momentous instant, this sublime opportunity? Has she power yet to rise, to rise at her master's bidding? If she has, the world may yet learn to bless her, and to forget her temporary treason. The human family may yet rise up as children redeemed and call her blessed—if she will gird up her loins even now and respond to the call, the wall of the millions. She may be saved.

The church is better equipped for a moral crusade like this of the Socialist Labor party than any body of politicians however worthy. She has borne our children in her arms, taught, married and buried our kindred. She has therefore yet a door open for her in the hearts of the people. Will she come and be with us in this battle for daily bread, for human life? I believe she can, and I hope she will.

But—?? Socialism is coming. Shall it crush the church, or will the church go forth to hasten its march. Though the night of universal humiliation is reigning now, yet I think the gloom is not unbroken, overshadowed as is the scene, it is not overwhelming.

Here still remains a vale where truth has descended; there still remains a peak where manhood in his longing has climbed. Desires too earnest to have been wasted; principles too honest to have been unproductive, still linger to confront the sordid church, to encourage and inspire the Socialist.

NO MORE FOOLING.

Cigarmakers' Union 165 of Philadelphia Takes The Only Sensible Stand Possible.

At the meeting of No. 165 on last December 22d the principal business was the consideration of a communication from the Municipal League in reference to proposed legislation. After discussion, a committee appointed for the purpose submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The Municipal League of Philadelphia has adopted certain drafts for various bills, purporting to be in the interest of better municipal governments of cities of the first class; and

Whereas, The aforesaid League has requested us to carefully consider these bills; therefore be it

Resolved, That experience has proven to us that no good government, be it national, State or municipal, can be expected from either of the dominant political parties or from any party which upholds the present unjust, degrading and profit-mongering system of production; and be it further

Resolved, That we, the members of the Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 165, place no confidence in any legislator or set of legislators who do not recognize the struggle between the capitalist and the laborer as a class struggle; and be it further

Resolved, That we only support such candidates for political office who are pledged to work for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and who recognize the principles laid down by the Socialist Labor Party; and be it further

IN THE COAL MINES.

The Condition of the Tollers in this Trade in Pennsylvania.

Having been requested to write a brief description of the condition and home-life of the miners of the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania, I shall endeavor to give a true account of the same without exaggeration or unnecessary comment.

I have lived in these mining regions the greater part of my life, am well acquainted with the facts in this matter. Times were when the miner could have been shown to be in a flourishing condition, but cramping monopoly and bad legislation have done their work well. Poverty and adversity have superseded prosperity. Conditions are now reversed. Alas! Famine, pestilence or war could not have wrought more ruin among the toiling masses than the present industrial system. But let us leave the past and deal with the present.

The present condition of the coal miner is indeed a sorrowful, pitiable one. Though his work is most dangerous and disagreeable, his remuneration is out of all reason; it is almost too little for subsistence, even if he had steady employment, which he seldom has. A reduction of five cents under present conditions, and the miner could not live. This was tried a year ago, but the operators found it necessary to voluntarily give an advance of five cents when the so-called over-production was exhausted. The operators in this case post as philanthropists, but the advance came of sheer necessity. The miner was unable to work and live on what he was getting. A horse can not perform his functions for his owner without provender. Neither can a man produce unless he can obtain a living. The profit-takers realized this.

The miner is at no time certain of his situation. He is liable, at any moment, to be thrown out of employment and also out of his home, for he generally lives in a "Company house." A protest against wrong or a word in support of his class is sufficient to make him a tramp, and starve his family. He dares not protest. He must submit. The farmers, forced from their farms by the infamous system of competition that capitalism incites, together with men displaced by mining and other inventions, form an innumerable army of unemployed, and the competition in the labor market caused thereby is death to the miner and his craft. This anxiety, uncertainty and fear of destitution weigh on the mind of the worker like a heavy load, breaks the springs of his independence and his manhood. His condition is certainly miserable.

So fierce is competition among the middle and upper capitalist class, that the market-price of labor is outrageously low, while a still fiercer competition among the unemployed forces wages still lower. All this brings on a condition in which man is driven to do gross injustice to his fellow-man or perish. In some parts of the Cambria region, men are holding positions in two mines in order to make a living. The mines run but half-time, or less, in this way these men can work in one while the other is idle. But at the same time their brother workers are suffering the miseries of hunger and cold, unable to obtain a single day's labor at any price. A sad fact to contemplate, too, is that, owing to the ignorance on the labor question cultivated by the ignorant labor fakirs, avarice is rampant in the rank and file of labor, and the tendency is to fight each other to the bitter end rather than wisely to co-operate to bring about better conditions.

Not only does the miner suffer from competition in the coal and labor markets, but he has still deeper cause to mourn his fate. The capitalist makes a triple profit, and robber's profit it is. Besides the profit made on his coal, he is compelled to deal at the company or "pluck-one" store, whence a still larger profit finds its way to the till of the capitalist. In addition to this he must rent a company house, if he is a married man; single men are never employed until the houses are all occupied. By this system they manage to have a full supply of men. If they do happen to require a few more they will put up a few kennels at the pit mouth and rent them to single workmen. Because of these evils it is commonly said of this county that a man had better be in his grave than in the mines there.

As to the wages of miners, it is difficult to form a correct estimate, but an average of \$25 per month for steady work is more likely to go over than under the mark. Considering, however, the depression in business, causing steady unemployment; the average will scarcely reach \$20 per month. It has been a matter of conjecture as to how the miners have managed to support their families under the conditions that have prevailed here for the past two years. Of course, in the Clearfield and Pittsburgh districts the average will be above these figures. The coal is high and more easily mined. But in the Cambria and Blair regions, where the coal is low and separated by large rock partings, the average wage will fall short of the figures given above.

The home-life of the miner is usually one of domestic happiness, except where poverty forcibly crosses his threshold. He bears his trials with fortitude; despite all the misery of his condition, all the worry and tribulations of his undeserved hard lot, he is the most generous of our people. A man will never leave his door unfed if there is a morsel of bread inside the house. The fare is generally frugal, just enough substantial food to appease hunger and supply the necessary strength. He can not afford a single luxury. This is neces-

sarily so, because of the small pittance given in return for his productions. If the miner receives an advance, in the price of coal, the merchant-leeches combine to suck it up by raising the prices of all other commodities. He is powerless to resist.

Approaching a mine village, one is not favorably impressed with the scene. It is usually situated in a deep ravine, between huge hills containing black fuel. First to intrude itself upon the visitor's view is the company store, ugly, commodious, where the second tribute is collected. Its very sight arouses the suspicion that it was there for no legitimate purpose. Noticeable, next, is the black, grimy, gaping pit mouths, leading into the bowels of the earth, where many a life is crushed out without warning and many a system is inoculated with poison—all for the profit of the capitalist. Then comes the company houses, scarcely worthy of the name—rude shells, rough boards with strips over the crevices, unpainted, grimy-looking and cold, reminding one of half-respectable stables. These are the homes of the miners, for they seldom own their residences. This is an exterior view. An interior view is somewhat different. The housewife is neat and tidy, and everything inside will be found as regular and orderly as circumstances will permit. These shells bring to the corporations or private operators, as the case may be, hundreds of dollars yearly in rent. In larger towns the houses are slightly better, but rents higher.

Occasionally, a miner, living in blackness, working in blackness, surrounded by blackness, with blackness permeating the very atmosphere, and sunk in the blackness of despair at his helpless condition, attempts to forget his trouble in drink, and sometimes spends in that the money which should go to his family for food and clothing. The ones who give way to such temptations injure themselves most deeply. Besides destroying both mental and physical powers and heaping sorrow upon those who are near and dear to them, they are fleeced by another set of adulterators and profit-takers—the liquor sellers—for all of which they are deeply sorry when they regain their senses. This also gives room for the capitalist cry that miners receive good pay, but live in extravagance and dissipation.

The above is a true and unexaggerated description of present conditions, given by one born and reared in the bituminous coal fields of Pennsylvania. The capitalists will rave against such a plain exposure of existing affairs, and some of the miners, too, will probably dislike it, but all statements herein contained can be readily substantiated, should any person care to investigate the matter.

Having proceeded thus far, let us go one step further and cast a glance into the future. What are the prospects? Surely, a crisis is near at hand. For the miner and all other workers, in fact, there is but one last resort. It is the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. The system which has plunged this nation into misery and want will, if allowed to go on, drive us further still on the road to destruction. Like a bad weed, it must be up-rooted. A system of production for sale and transportation to foreign shores must give place to one of production for consumption. A system of profit, rent and interest must give place to one of equality and free production. Wage-slaves must become free American producers. No man should be forced to pay tribute to another for the privilege of using either that which the generous hand of nature lavished upon him—natural opportunities, or that which the collective labor of the past places within reach—social opportunities. Land and capital must be his. The capitalists seek to keep away any interruption of their piracy. Bills introduced into the legislative halls for the increase of the terms of office and the army make plain the tactics these mean to pursue. Will the workmen, by following old party lines and prejudices and dividing themselves compass their own destruction? Will they permit another national election to pass without a social revolution—the election of candidates upon a platform that unconditionally demands the unconditional surrender of Capitalism? I hope not.

SCOTT.

Figart, Pa., Dec. 22, 1896.

The fate of the unfortunate cab drivers who were victimized into joining the "Liberty Dawn Association" is the latest warning that the history of the labor movement gives to the workers.

An ignoramus of the first water, a self-seeking schemer to boot, by the name of Maher, roped a number of cab drivers into an organization that he got up, together with other fakirs, like H. B. Henry and T. B. Maguire of the now defunct K. of L. These fellows made big promises, such promises as no intelligent or honorable man would. The men trooped in, and Maher had a picnic—while the picnic lasted. But workingmen don't organize for the pleasure of affording picnics to the Mahers. They organize to better their condition. If the fakirs were to tell them the truth about matters, the men would not be so numerous, or, if numerous in the organization, would husband their affairs in a way that left no room for fakirs. Hence it is that the fakirs, even where they are less ignorant than Maher, are very "broad," broad enough to take fees from any one who comes along, and very quiet on the social question. This "broadness" and quietness brings on its own destruction. Presently the men want to know the reason why they are paying dues. They begin to force the body into a strike, and the tribulation of the fakir commences. A big substratum of dense ignorance is the groundwork of all fakirs. A fakir at the helm of an organization at a strike is like a land lubber at the helm of a Cunarder in a storm.

Disaster is all that the workers get at the bargain counter presided over by Pure and Simplers.

SOCIALISTS' PROTEST

Against Their Exclusion from Minnesota State F. of L., Dec. 13, '96.

The following protest was made by the delegates from the Socialist Labor Party:

St. Paul, Minn., Dec. 13, 1896.

To the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, Brothers:

We, the undersigned, delegates regularly elected to the present convention of this body by the following organizations: Section St. Paul, Socialist Labor Party; Section Minneapolis, Socialist Labor Party; and German Section Minneapolis, Socialist Labor Party—do hereby respectfully present the following statement and protest. And we ask that it be spread upon the minutes of this meeting.

We appeared at this meeting with regular credentials and put them in the hands of the secretary, together with our proper semi-annual dues. The credential committee in their report stated this fact, but recommended that our credentials be not accepted. A motion to accept the report was proposed to be amended by admitting the Socialist delegation. After a short debate the amendment was defeated under the previous question, the vote being: ayes 42, nays 66. The president thereupon ruled that the amendment was lost and the Socialist delegates excluded. Against this action we protest on the following grounds:

Article I, section 1, of the constitution is as follows: "This association shall be known as the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and shall consist of such labor organizations, as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation, the body always having power to reject any delegate by a two-thirds vote."

The minutes of the thirteenth semi-annual session of this body show that the delegation of the Socialist Labor Party, the first represented, were admitted, and that they paid their affiliation fee and dues. We submit that this action made the Socialist Labor Sections affiliated bodies of this federation. And this being the fact our exclusion was, under Article I, Section 1, unconstitutional, the vote against us in the present meeting being less than two-thirds.

The president ruled that this provision of the constitution did not apply until the convention was fully organized. We call your attention to the fact that under this ruling the president can over-rule any constitutional provision so long as the convention is not in session.

We, therefore, protest against our exclusion as irregular and unconstitutional and arbitrary.

We further protest against our exclusion as unfair, having been carried under gag-law.

Finally, we protest against our exclusion as unjust and unjust, and injurious to the unity of the working class. In support of this we submit the following statement of the position of the Socialist Labor Party:

The Socialist Labor Party is a labor organization. It believes that the working class ought to use the methods of unionism to win its rights. It urges all its members to join the organization of their respective trades. And it supports every honest unionist movement. But it believes that besides the methods of unionism, it is necessary for the working class to use the political power to win their rights. But it is urged that politics ought not to be introduced into this Federation. We call your attention to the fact that almost the whole work of the conventions of this Federation consists of political resolutions, that is, resolutions begging the legislature to pass labor laws. Socialist politics differ from this in that the Socialists are in favor of demanding the rights of labor, instead of begging for favors. They believe that the working people should take a stand as men, asking no favors and bowing to no masters, but boldly demanding and conquering their rights. If the Federation can afford to indulge in the humiliating political beggary that it now carries on, the introduction of straight-forward, class-conscious labor politics, represented by the Socialist Labor Party, can, at least, do no harm.

With this statement and protest we bow to the unconstitutional action of this convention. We assure you that we shall continue in the future as in the past, to support the interests of the working class; we shall continue to support honest trades unionism and to fight labor fakirs. And we assure you that we, who are already the largest as well as the most aggressive labor organization in the state will not suffer from the injustice we have here had to submit to. Because we represent the progressive movement of the working class, we are bound to grow, and we believe that the time is not far off when the labor movement of this state will be placed on such a clear and class-conscious basis that fakirism will lose its power, that no labor organization will be afraid of independent political action, and that all trade-unions will gladly join hands with their honest friends, the Socialist Labor Party.

Fraternally,
SAM JOHNSON,
J. ANDERSON,
Of St. Paul Section, Socialist Labor Party.

G. B. LEONARD,
A. H. LEE,
HERBERT J. SHAW,
F. A. MALMQUIST,
FRANK VEZINA,
Of Minneapolis Section, Socialist Labor Party.

KARL ILLIGE,
German Section, Socialist Labor Party of Minneapolis.

The Greater New York Convention will hold its second session this afternoon at 2 o'clock, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street. Delegates that were not present at the first session must bring credentials.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

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